

(From 6th column 4th page.)

I believe in none of these monarchical opinions, and have never practised upon them. I have never addressed myself to the supposed ignorance, venality, faction, or rapacity of my countrymen, but always to their intelligence, virtue, and patriotism. The argument of ignorance has had no place in my speech; the argument of venality has been my aim. I cannot say that I have spoken with judgment; but I can affirm that I have always said my countrymen the complement of speaking to their accredited judgment—never to their supposed folly. I have spoken to the rational minds, to the virtuous hearts, and to the lofty, generous, and patriotic feelings of my countrymen; and I am too well content with the effect which this plan of speaking has had, to change it now. Facts, and reasons, are my materials—simplicity my style. Away with exordium—away with peroration—away with holiday phrases—away with theatrical display, away with all figures, but figures of arithmetic; and of these I give many, and never more than in this short speech. This has been my plan of speaking, and the result. I have prepared plain statements, to be made out, and delivered a plain speech upon them. I have endeavored to make myself intelligible on a subject in which intelligibility is somewhat difficult—on which it is easy for the speaker to get both himself and his hearers into a fog. I have aimed at perspicuity, and I am glad to say that I have aimed at it, and I wish the country to judge the expenditures of the Government—the particulars as well as the aggregate—and therefore place the whole before the public. Our adversaries attack the aggregate: Let them examine the particulars, and name the one to which they object, and for which they did not vote.

Mr. B. then appealed to Senators of the Democratic party to name the number of extra copies of the report which they would propose to print, professing himself ready to agree to any number that was satisfactory to his friends.

Mr. HUBBARD proposed thirty thousand. Mr. BENTON accepted the proposition, and moved that thirty thousand extra copies of the report be printed for the use of the Senate.

This motion gave rise to a very interesting and animated discussion, in which Messrs. HUBBARD, CALHOUN, and BUCHANAN, advocated, and Messrs. BENTON, SOUTHARD, CLAY, of Kentucky, and WEBSTER, opposed the motion, and a sketch of which will be given at an early day.

The question being then on printing thirty thousand extra copies of the report, it was agreed to—yeas 22, nays 14, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Anderson, Benton, Brown, Buchanan, Calhoun, Clay of Alabama, Culbertson, Fulton, Hubbard, King, Linn, Nicholas, Norvell, Pierce, Roane, Robinson, Sevier, Sturgeon, Wall, Williams, and Wright—22.

NAYS—Messrs. Clayton of Kentucky, Clayton, Davis, Dixon, Henderson, Knight, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Ruggles, Southard, Tallmadge, Webster, and White—14.

EXPENSES OF THE GOVERNMENT—Remarks of Mr. Benton upon the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to the Senate, May 4, 1840.

SIR: I have the honor to submit this report, in compliance with the following resolution, passed by the Senate on the 24th ult.:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury report to the Senate the aggregate amount of all expenditures or payments of every kind from the Treasury in each year, from 1824 to 1839 inclusive, in one column, and in another column for each year the aggregate amount, independent of the payments on account of the public debt, whether founded or unfounded, and in a third column, the aggregate amount for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary; such as the public debt, trust funds and indemnities, claims of States for war debts or 3 per cents on lands sold, occasional donations in money to objects in the District of Columbia or otherwise, survey of the coast, taking the census, duties refunded, the Exploring Expedition, and materials collected for the gradual improvement of the navy, durable public buildings of all kinds, bridges and fortifications, all roads, canals, breakwaters and improvements in rivers and harbors, arming militia and forts, all pensions except those to invalids, and the purchase of title to lands from Indians, the removal of Indians, and their wars, with such other payments as may have been made in those years for property lost or injuries committed during any hostilities.

The resolution was on the same day referred to the Register of the Treasury, with instructions to prepare a tabular statement, containing the information desired in the three separate columns. It is herewith annexed, marked A.

He was requested, also, to prepare another statement, showing the specific sum which had been deducted each year on account of each item mentioned in the resolution as either extraordinary or temporary.

Believing that this would be highly useful, as showing the details on which the general results in the third column of the first statements rest, and as embracing many statistical facts, possessing in themselves much interest, I have annexed it, marked B.

Unless some accidental omission or other error has occurred, these two statements will present all the information desired by the resolution.

With high respect,
LEVI WOODBURY,
Secretary of the Treasury.

To Hon. RICH. M. JOHNSON,
Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

A.

STATEMENT of expenditures of the United States from the year 1824 to the year 1839, inclusive, arranged in a tabular form, in accordance with the resolution of the Senate of the 24th of April, 1840.

Year.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments of every kind from the Treasury.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments on account of the public debt, whether founded or unfounded.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary.
1824	\$1,000,000	\$500,000	\$500,000
1825	\$1,200,000	\$600,000	\$600,000
1826	\$1,400,000	\$700,000	\$700,000
1827	\$1,600,000	\$800,000	\$800,000
1828	\$1,800,000	\$900,000	\$900,000
1829	\$2,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000
1830	\$2,200,000	\$1,100,000	\$1,100,000
1831	\$2,400,000	\$1,200,000	\$1,200,000
1832	\$2,600,000	\$1,300,000	\$1,300,000
1833	\$2,800,000	\$1,400,000	\$1,400,000
1834	\$3,000,000	\$1,500,000	\$1,500,000
1835	\$3,200,000	\$1,600,000	\$1,600,000
1836	\$3,400,000	\$1,700,000	\$1,700,000
1837	\$3,600,000	\$1,800,000	\$1,800,000
1838	\$3,800,000	\$1,900,000	\$1,900,000
1839	\$4,000,000	\$2,000,000	\$2,000,000

* Such as the public debt, trust funds, indemnities, claims of States for war debts, or 3 per cents on lands sold, occasional donations in money to objects in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere, survey of the coast, taking the census, duties refunded, the Exploring Expedition, and materials collected for the gradual improvement of the navy, durable public buildings of all kinds, bridges and fortifications, all roads, canals, breakwaters and improvements in rivers and harbors, arming militia and forts, all pensions except those to invalids, and the purchase of title to lands from Indians, the removal of Indians, and their wars, with such other payments as may have been made in those years for property lost or injuries committed during any hostilities.

The expenditures of 1839 are subject to revision, as the settlement of the Treasury for that year, was not yet reached this date.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

Register's Office May 4, 1840.

STATISTICAL statement of expenditures of the United States from 1824 to 1839, inclusive, arranged in a tabular form, in accordance with the resolution of the Senate of the 24th of April, 1840.

Year.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments of every kind from the Treasury.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments on account of the public debt, whether founded or unfounded.	Aggregate of all expenditures or payments for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary.
1824	\$1,000,000	\$500,000	\$500,000
1825	\$1,200,000	\$600,000	\$600,000
1826	\$1,400,000	\$700,000	\$700,000
1827	\$1,600,000	\$800,000	\$800,000
1828	\$1,800,000	\$900,000	\$900,000
1829	\$2,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000
1830	\$2,200,000	\$1,100,000	\$1,100,000
1831	\$2,400,000	\$1,200,000	\$1,200,000
1832	\$2,600,000	\$1,300,000	\$1,300,000
1833	\$2,800,000	\$1,400,000	\$1,400,000
1834	\$3,000,000	\$1,500,000	\$1,500,000
1835	\$3,200,000	\$1,600,000	\$1,600,000
1836	\$3,400,000	\$1,700,000	\$1,700,000
1837	\$3,600,000	\$1,800,000	\$1,800,000
1838	\$3,800,000	\$1,900,000	\$1,900,000
1839	\$4,000,000	\$2,000,000	\$2,000,000

* Obtained from the Fourth Auditor's Office.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

Register's Office May 4, 1840.

On motion of Mr. BENTON, the letter of the Secretary and the tables were ordered to be printed.

Mr. B. then rose to make another motion, and that was, to print an extra number of these papers, and for that purpose, asked that the papers should be sent to him, (which was done); and Mr. B. went on to say that his object was to spread before the country, a statement from the full view of all the Government expenditures for a series of years past, going back as far as Mr. Monroe's administration; and thereby enabling every citizen, in every part of the country, to see the actual, the comparative, and the classified expenditures of the Government for the whole period. This proceeding had become necessary, Mr. B. said, from the systematic efforts made for some years past, to impress the country with the belief that the expenditures had increased threefold in the last twelve years—that they had risen from THIRTEEN to THIRTY-NINE millions of dollars; and that enormous increase was the effect of the extravagance, of the corruption and the incompetency of the Administrations which had succeeded that of Mr. Adams and Mr. Monroe.

These two later Administrations were held up as the models of economy; those of Mr. Van Buren and General Jackson were stigmatized as masters of extravagance; and tables of figures were so arranged as to give color to the characters attributed to each. These systematic efforts—this reiterated assertion made on this floor, of thirteen millions increased to thirty-nine—and the effect which such statement must have upon the minds of those who cannot see the purposes for which the money was expended, appeared to him (Mr. B.) to require some more formal and authentic refutation than any one individual could give—something more imposing than the speech of a solitary member could afford. Familiar with the action of the Government for twenty years past—coming into the Senate in the time of Mr. Monroe—resulting in it even since—a friend to economy in public and in private life—and closely scrutinizing the expenditures of the Government during the whole time—he (Mr. B.) felt himself to be very able at any time to have risen in his place, and to have exposed the delusion of this thirteen and thirty-nine million figure; and if he did not do so, it was because, in the first place, he was disinclined to bodily contradictions on the floor of the Senate; and in the second place, because he relied upon the intelligence of the country to set all right whenever they obtained a view of the facts. This view he had made himself the instrument of procuring, and the Secretary of the Treasury had now presented it.

It was ready for the contemplation of the American people; and he could wish every citizen, to have the picture in his own hand, that he might contemplate it at his own leisure, and at his full leisure. He could wish every citizen to possess a copy of this report, now received from the Secretary of the Treasury, under the call of the Senate, and printed by his order; he could wish every citizen to possess one of these authentic copies, bearing the imprimatur of the American Senate; but that was impossible; and, limiting his action to what was possible, he would propose to print such number of extra copies as would enable some to reach every quarter of the Union. He knew that the report could easily go through the newspapers, (for it was very short), and he hoped that it would appear in every paper that was a friend to truth and to fair dealing—that which wished to give correct information to its readers. He hoped it would appear in all such papers; but that was not sufficient. The newspaper publications were not sufficiently free from evil to answer his purpose; no publication could be sufficient but the one made by the order of the Senate; and therefore, he wished the document itself to go forth, with the Senatorial imprimatur upon it, in sufficient numbers to reach every quarter of the Union. He wished a large number to be printed; but he did not suggest any particular number until he had first given to the Senate some view of the papers themselves, and then show them to be worthy of the most ample multiplication, and of the most extensive distribution.

Mr. B. then opened the tables, and explained their character and contents. The first one (marked A) consisted of three columns, and exhibited the aggregate, and the classified expenditures of the Government from the year 1824 to 1839, inclusive; the second one (marked B) contained the detailed statement of the payments annually made on account of all temporary or extraordinary objects, including the public debt, for the same period. The second table was explanatory of the third column of the first one; and the two taken together, would enable every citizen to see the actual expenditures, and the comparative expenditures, of the Government for the whole period which he had mentioned.

Mr. B. then examined the actual and the comparative expenses of two of the years, taken from the two contracted periods referred to, and invoked the attention of the Senate to the results which the comparison would exhibit. He took the first and the last of the years mentioned in the tables—the years 1824 and 1839—and began with the first item in the first column. This showed the aggregate expenditures for every object for the year 1824, to have been \$31,838, 538 47—very near that of two millions; and for the year 1839, to have been \$40,000,000, or nearly five millions more. He then examined the second column, and without exception, he found the aggregate of all the payments on account of the public debt, and of raising a cry against the dreadful extravagance, the corruption, and the wickedness of Mr. Monroe's administration. Taken by itself, (and indubitable true it is in itself), and this aggregate of nearly thirty-two millions is very sufficient to effect all this surprise and indignation in the public mind; but, passing on to the second column to see what were the expenditures, independent of the public debt, and this large aggregate will be found to be reduced more than one half; it sinks \$15,359, 144 71. This is a heavy deduction; but it is not all. Passing on to the third column, and it is seen that the actual expenses of the Government for permanent and ordinary objects, independent of the temporary and extraordinary ones, for this same year, were only \$7, 107, 892 05; being less than the one fourth part of the aggregate of near thirty-two millions. This looks quite reasonable, and goes far towards relieving Mr. Monroe's administration from the imputation which a view of the aggregate expenditure for the year would have subjected it to. But, to make it entirely satisfactory, and to enable every citizen to understand the important point of the Government expenditures—a point on which the critics of a free and a responsible Government should be always well informed, to attain this fully and satisfactorily, let us pass on to the second table (marked B) and fix our eyes on its first column, under the year 1824. We shall there find every temporary and extraordinary object, and the amount paid on account of it, the deduction of which reduced an aggregate of near thirty-two millions to a fraction over seven millions. We shall there find the explanation of the difference between the first and third columns. The first item is the sum of \$16,568, 232 76, paid on account of the principal and interest of the public debt. The second is the sum of \$4, 891, 350 55, paid to merchants for indemnities under the treaty with Spain of 1819 by which we acquired Florida. The third is \$5,510 27 paid to States for claims on account of war debts. The fourth is \$47,744 53 for the three per cents on the new States on the lands sold within their limits. The fifth is \$17,000 on account of the two per cents on the Cumberland road. The sixth is \$43, 372 19 for the survey of the coast. The seventh is \$329,312 49 for collecting materials for the gradual increase of the navy, and the eighth is \$1, 100, 000 for the gradual improvement of the navy, durable public buildings. The ninth is \$1, 100, 000 for bridges and fortifications. The tenth is \$56,955 99 for roads, canals, and breakwaters, and improvements in rivers and harbors, except the Cumberland road, which was stated by itself. The tenth is \$171,135 43 for providing arms for the militia of the United States, and for arming the fortifications. The eleventh is \$1,267,698 41, for all pensions, except those to invalids. The twelfth is \$429,887 99 for purchasing land from Indian, and paying for Indian depredations. The thirteenth, and last item, is the sum of \$296,960 21 for irregular expenditures, and for property lost and injuries committed, during hostilities and any power. The total of all these items, except the public debt, is \$22,252,666. This total, added to the sum paid on account of the public debt, makes close upon twenty-five millions of dollars; and this, deducted from the aggregate of near thirty-two millions, leaves a fraction over seven millions for the real expenses of the Government—the ordinary and permanent expenses—during the last year of Mr. Monroe's administration. This is certainly a satisfactory result. It exempts the Administration of that period from the imputation of extravagance, which the misplaced exhibition of the laws of the Government might have drawn upon it in the minds of untrained people. It clears that Administration from all blame. And now let us apply the test of the same examination to some year of the present Administration, now so inconspicuously charged with ruinous extravagance. Let us see how the same rule will work when applied to the present period; and, for that purpose, let us take the last year in the table, that of 1839. Let others take any that they please, or as many as they please; I take one because I only propose to give an example; and I take the last one in the table, because it is the last. Let us proceed with this examination, and we shall see the results, actual and comparative, will be.

Commencing with the aggregate payments from the Treasury for all objects, Mr. B. said it would be seen at the foot of the first column in the first table, that they amounted to \$37,126,386 80; passing to the second column, and it would be seen that this sum was reduced to \$25,982,797 73; and passing to the third, and it would be seen that this latter sum was itself reduced to \$13,525, 850 18; and, referring to the second table, and the year 1839; and it would be seen how this aggregate of thirty-seven millions was reduced to thirteen and a half. It was a great reduction; a reduction of nearly two-thirds from the aggregate amount paid out;—left from the proper expenses of the Government—its ordinary and permanent expenses—an inconceivably small sum for a great nation of seventeen millions of souls, covering an immense extent of territory, and acting a part among the great powers of the world. To trace this reduction—to show the reasons of the difference between the first and the third columns, Mr. B. would follow the same process which he had pursued in explaining the expenditures of the year 1824, and as for nothing in one case which had not been granted in the other.

1. The first item to be deducted from the thirty-seven million aggregate was the sum of \$11,146, 690 53 paid on account of the public debt. He repeated, on account of the public debt; for it was a Treasury note; and these Treasury notes were so much debt incurred to supply the place of the revenue deposited with the States, in 1828, or shut up in banks during the suspension of 1837, or due from merchants, to whom indulgence had been granted. To supply the place of these unattainable funds, the Government went into debt by issuing Treasury notes; but faithful to the sentiment which authorized a national debt, it paid off the debt almost as fast as it contracted it. Above eleven millions of the debt was paid in 1839, amounting to almost the third part of the aggregate expenditure of that year; and thus, nearly the one third part of the sum which is charged upon the Administration as extravagant and corrupt, was mere payment of debt—a mere payment of Treasury notes which we had issued to supply the place of our misplaced revenue. This item being deducted from the 37 millions, reduces it to 26.

2. The second item to be deducted is stated in the table under the description of trust funds; and consists of moneys received in trust for the Chinese and Indians, and other Indians, on the sale of their lands, for which the United States act as their agent and treasurer. It amounted to near a quarter of a million, to wit, \$249,684 for the year 1839; but for the three preceding years averaged a million and a quarter, contributed largely to swell the expenditures, as they were termed, of 1836, 1837, and 1838. This item had no existence in the year 1824; so that it became a new charge, apparently upon the Treasury; but in reality no charge at all, as it was only delivering over to Indians the moneys which had been received for them, and belonged to them. Yet this item, amounting to nearly four millions in the last four years, is set down to the reckless extravagance of a mad and ruinous Administration.

3. The third item to be deducted is the sum of \$717,552 27, for indemnities; that is to say, for moneys received from foreign nations, under Gen. Jackson's administration, for moneys which had been plundered under previous Administrations; whose money, when received, had gone into the Treasury, and was afterwards paid out to the rightful owners as their respective rights were ascertained. The payment for 1839 was near three quarters of a million; but for three previous years they amounted in the whole to about five and a half millions; and, according to the accusation of the Opposition gentlemen, constituted so much of the horrid extravagance of those years! and here let us mark the difference between the present times and those of 1824. When, in that year, sum of near five millions was paid out of the Treasury for indemnities to merchants, and to the people of Florida, no one ever thought of making the people believe that it was a part of the expenses of the Government. No one ever thought of injuring the Administration about it. These conceptions have been reserved for the present day. Now, for the first time in the history of our country, or perhaps of any country, the recovery of indemnities from foreigners, and their payment our own citizens, becomes a dreadful extravagance—a ruinous waste of money—for which a mad and profligate Administration must be thrust from power!

4. The fourth item is a small sum of \$4, 875 50 for claims of States on account of expenditures for general benefit during the late war. It was a payment of debt, and not an expense of Government, and though small in 1839, it had been considerable in three preceding years, amounting at that time to about \$230,000; and, of course, swelling by that much the aggregate expenditures of those years, and helping to make up the monstrous extravagance of which the country heard so much.

5. The item grows out of the three per centum fund to the new States by compact, as a consideration, and in a most inadequate one it is, for not a cent of it has been paid. It is a debt of \$1, 100, 000, and being a debt due to the new States, is no part of the Government expenses. For the three previous years, when the land sales were at the largest, and when some of the States had neglected for some years to draw their money, the payments on this account amounted to near one and a half millions of dollars; and, of course, swelled to that amount the extravagance of 1836, '37, and '38. In the year 1824, this item was \$47,744 53; in the year 1839, it was \$17,000; but in the great sales of 1825, '26, and '27, it amounted to near \$1,200,000. Here again was a payment of a debt converted into wasteful extravagance!

6. Donations of money to, or payments on account of, the District of Columbia, was the seventh item of deduction which Mr. B. mentioned. It amounted to \$126,374 for the year 1839. It was a new item in the list of Government payments, having no existence in 1824; nor was it in 1836, 1837, and 1838. After that time it had been annual, and as high as \$213,000 in one year, to wit, 1832, and for the year 1829, '7 and '8, amounted to near \$140,000. It was a gratuity to the District, which had no political rights; and it was gratuity which had no other object than to relieve it from burthens, invidiously contracted; yet received the usual character of corrupt extravagance.

8. The survey of the coast was the eighth item which Mr. B. explained. It was a temporary and extraordinary object, which had grown up from a trifle to a large amount within a few years past, and amounted to \$249,684 for the year 1839. Previous to General Jackson's administration it rarely exceeded two thousand dollars per annum; in the years 1836 '7 and '8, it amounted to about \$220,000.

9. Duties refunded to merchants was another of the new and large items which had lately grown up among our Treasury payments. From 1824 to 1832, it was unknown; yet in 1839 it was \$170,201; in the year 1833, it was \$701,000, and for 1836-'7, and '8, it amounted to above \$800,000. This was a favor, or an act of justice to merchants, granted by acts of Congress, or by judicial decisions, or by reversal of previous constructions of the laws. It is no part of the Government expenditure, though, being refunded from the Treasury, it goes into the enumeration to swell the general aggregate—to swell the cry of extravagance—and to prove the hostility of the Administration to merchants!

10. A tenth item to be deducted was the sum of \$714, 850 for collecting materials for the increase of the navy. This was an expenditure for the future defence of the country, and averaged about \$800,000 per annum since the commencement of General Jackson's administration, though only \$429,000 in 1824. It is clearly no part of the expenses of Government, but an outlay of money for the benefit of after years, and of posterity.

11. Permanent public buildings is another of the large items of recent expenditure. Formerly these buildings were of perishable materials, and sunk under the decay of time, or the ravages of fire; for some years past durable materials had been selected, and fireproof edifices constructed. The expenditure for this purpose in 1839, was \$1, 218, 044, and near the same for the three preceding years. This again was an expenditure for the benefit of posterity, and not chargeable as an expense upon the actual Administrations.

12. The sum of \$735, 570 for bridges and fortifications, was the twelfth item which Mr. B. pointed out for deduction, being both of their expenditures for the benefit of posterity; the expenditure extra ordinary and temporary, but the benefit general and permanent.

13. The sum of \$1, 491,000 for the improvement of rivers, harbors, and roads, exclusive of the Cumberland road, was another expenditure of the same character. In 1824, it was but \$56, 555, but took a start then which would have known no bounds had it not been for the Nashville veto.

14. Providing arms for the militia of the States and cannon for the forts is another expenditure for future times and for posterity. It amounted to

\$474, 906 for 1839, and averaged above half a millions a year for each of the three preceding years. In 1824, it was but \$171, 157.

15. Pensions, except those to invalids, was the next item noted by Mr. B. for deduction. They were gratuities from the Treasury, and not an expense of Government. They amounted in 1839 to \$3, 033, 764, being near three times what they were in 1824. They had been an enormous drain upon the Treasury for the last seven years, amounting in 1823 to 4, 485, 000, dollars and subsequently averaging about half that sum.

16. Purchase lands from Indians was another large item to be deducted, and which had vastly increased of late. In 1824, this kind of expenditure only amounted to 429, 977 dollars; in 1829 it was 1, 708, 123; dollars in 1836 was as high as three millions. In 1827, 2, 454, 000 dollars and in 1838, it was 4, 639, 518; these were heavy expenditures, incurred for the great object of relieving all the States from the encumbrance of an Indian population; but though heavy, it is not money gone from the Treasury never to return to it. It all returns, and with profit, in the sale of the lands acquired; yet the vast sums paid on this head are cited against us as ruinous extravagance, for which the Gods should be driven from the Capitol!

17. Removal of Indians and their wars was another item nearly connected with the last, and subject to the same remarks; it had grown up of late, and was directed to the good of the States. In 1824 it was nothing; in 1839 it was \$1, 775, 914. In the three preceding years it was, respectively, 800,000, 800,000, 800,000, and 500,000. This is one of the largest heads of increased expenditure in recent years, and one of the most indispensable for the States of the South and West. It is appertaining to the purchase of the Indian lands; and although large, yet the sales of the lands will far more than reimburse it.

18. And finally, Mr. B. noted the sum of 222, 359 for miscellaneous objects, not reducible to a precise head, which swelled the list of expenditures, without belonging to the expenses of the Government.

19. The Exploring Expedition was the last of the items. It was of recent origin, amounting to \$37,968 in 1839, and to about \$500,000 for the three preceding years.

These are the eighteen heads of extraordinary expenditure, said Mr. B. and the amount expended for each; and now let gentlemen of the Opposition say for which of these they did not vote, to which they now object, and for which they will not vote again at this session?

With this view of the tabular statements, Mr. B. closed the examination of the items of expenditure, and stated the results to be a reduction of the 37 million aggregate in 1839, to about 13 1/2 million aggregate in 1824, to about one-third of the total. The very first item, that of the payment of public debt in the redemption of Treasury notes, reduced to 14 millions of dollars; it sunk it from 37 millions to 26. The other eighteen items amounted to \$12,636,976, and reduced the 26 millions to 13 1/2. Here then is a result which is attained by the same process which applies to the year 1824, and to every other year, and which is right in itself, and which must put to flight and to shame all the attempts to excite the country with this huge bear story of extravagance. In the first place, the aggregate expenditures have not increased threefold in fifteen years; they have not risen from 13 to 37 millions, as is continually asserted by the Opposition; but from 32 millions to 37 or 38.

How have they risen? By paying last year 11 millions for Treasury notes, and more than 12 millions for Indian lands and wars, removals of Indians, and increase of the army and navy, and other items as enumerated. The result is a residue of 13 1/2 millions for the real expenses of the Government; a sum 11 1/2 millions short of what gentlemen proclaim would be an economical expenditure. They all say that 15 millions would be an economical expenditure; except 10 1/2 millions, which is a million and a half short of that mark.

The authentic tables show that the aggregate expenditures for 1824, came within five millions of those of 1839; consequently that, without a deduction for extraordinary expenditures, the charge of extravagance, waste, ruin, profligacy, &c., might have been raised against the Administration of that day, and some untrained persons, excited against it by a groundless clamor; yet no one thought of raising such a charge in 1824. No one thought of charging the Administration with extravagance, or with any other crime, for the items on account of the public debt, and for the payments to merchants, and other extraordinary expenditures, for payments either temporary or extraordinary in their nature. No one sought to mystify or to impose upon the ignorant. No one thought of painting a story of thirty-two millions upon the country as the expenses of the country. All that has been reserved for the present times; it has been reserved for our day; and may have been attended for a while with the ephemeral success which crowns a man and the petty arts of delusion practiced upon the ignorant. Let the facts for their detection come by, let the charges be made, and let the people, with their every day, and with their every doubt, they will enable every citizen to see every item of expenditures—to judge it himself—and to demand of the Opposition gentlemen, if they did not vote for it themselves, and if they now object to it? Taking the extraordinary items as they rise, and beginning with the first, the sum of eleven millions paid for redemption of Treasury notes; and can it be demanded if that payment was not right? and so on through the whole list, amounting to twelve and a half millions. The ordinary and permanent expenses, amounting to thirteen and a half millions, no one objects to; all admit that this sum is a million and a half within the mark of moderate economy. It is on the extraordinary items—it is on the difference between thirteen and a half and thirty-seven millions—that the attack is made; and now we produce these extraordinary items. We give a list of them, item by item, with the amount paid on account of each; and call upon the gentlemen of the Opposition to name the one to which they object? to name the one for which they did not vote? This is what we do; and I will tell you, Mr. President, what they will do; they will not name one item to which they now object, or against which they voted? They will not name one; and the reason is, because they cannot! They voted for all, they approved all, they gave their hands, and of these the Opposition were the leading advocates. And thus these gentlemen of the Opposition are presented in the extraordinary light of going abroad to make a general denunciation of the Administration for extravagant expenditure; and when we show them the bill of particulars, and ask of them to point out the extravagant items, or the ones for which they did not vote, they remain silent! They will name no item, because they cannot.

Mr. B. said that this Administration, and that of General Jackson, were ready for a comparison with any that preceded them. Aggregates against aggregates, or items they were ready, for the comparison. If any one shall say that the expenses of the Government were thirty-seven millions in 1829, or thirty-nine millions in 1828, we answer that this is only five or seven millions more than that aggregate of 1824; that the aggregate was then thirty-two millions, and the increase is only in proportion to the increase of the country. If descending from aggregates and going into items, it is said that sixteen millions must be deducted from the aggregate of 1824 for payments to the public debt, and eight millions more for indemnities and other extraordinary items, we answer that eleven millions must be deducted from the aggregate of 1839 for redemption of Treasury notes, and twelve and a half millions more for Indian wars, treaties, and removals, and a dozen other extraordinary items. This brings the thirty-seven down to thirteen & a half; and at that point complaint ceases.

Mr. B. said that the tables which were presented treated every Administration alike. Beginning in the last year of Mr. Monroe, they came down through the term of Mr. Adams, and the two terms of General Jackson, and the three years which had elapsed under Mr. Van Buren. All were treated

alike. The same rule was applied to the expenditures under each one. The aggregate was given in every case first; and then the extraordinary separated from the ordinary expenditures, and the same items charged and credited in every case.

In looking at the aggregates, it will be seen that every Administration needed this classification; that the aggregate under Mr. Adams's administration was not thirteen millions, as repeated so many millions of times, but about the double of that, and that thirteen millions for that gentleman's administration was only attained by deducting extraordinary items! by going through the very process which reduces the expenditure under Mr. Van Buren to thirteen and a half millions. The same aggregate in the whole table is that of 18 under Gen. Jackson's administration, when the public debt had ceased, and the Indian wars had not begun. The aggregate for that year is seven millions and a half. Even including the extraordinary of that year, and the aggregate of sixteen million and a half! And so it began again. As soon as we are done paying Treasury notes, which are issued in lieu of misplaced revenue, and so soon as our Indian troubles are over, and the payments completed, the aggregate expenditures will come down about what they were in 1835; and the ordinary expense will be within fifteen millions.

Mr. B. demanded who ever deemed it an honor to the Government, when Mr. Jefferson purchased Louisiana for seven millions of dollars? And who could think of charging as an expense large sums which had been lately paid, in extinguishing Indian titles, and removing Indians? It would be soon think of charging, among the expenses of a family, the outlay which should be made by a prudent and thr